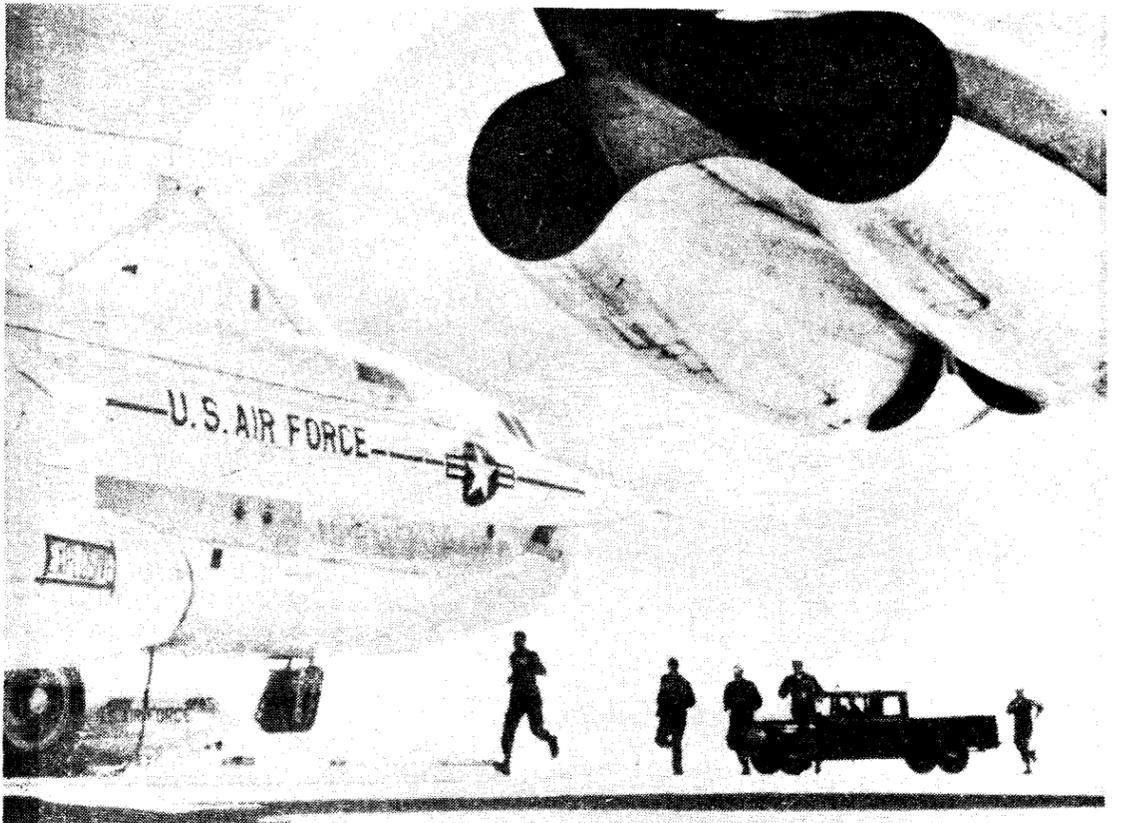




Pope blesses Carter's holy war against Russia.

AP



Der Spiegel

Down With NATO! Defend the USSR!

Carter Warmongers Through Europe

As European government leaders glided in to the island of San Giorgio Maggiore in sleek Venetian boats late last month, U.S. president Carter arrived noisily in a Navy admiral's launch escorted by a cloud of helicopters. A Rome newspaper printed a cartoon of American choppers bumping into each other and tumbling into the canals. It is certainly a long way from the days when the U.S. was undisputed master of the capitalist world. The American commander-in-chief just can't get no respect anymore.

No sooner did Carter hit European shores than he re-issued the call-up announcement for a new Cold War offensive. Significantly, his anti-Soviet fulminations were directed as much (or more) at keeping America's imperialist allies in line as at shaking up the Russians. Whatever the West Germans might think, he insisted, Kabul was as important as Berlin in his eyes. In a toast at a state dinner given by the Italian president, he said:

"The Soviets must understand that they cannot recklessly threaten world peace or still enjoy the benefits of cooperation while pursuing a policy of armed intervention.

"Above all, everyone must know that efforts cannot succeed to divide our alliance or to lull us into a false belief that somehow America or Europe can be an island of détente while aggression is carried out elsewhere."

—New York Times, 21 June

The Kremlin bureaucracy, still playing the losing game of détente, has

shifted its tactics for now and is seeking to widen the fissure between Washington and the West European capitals. Just before the Venice conference, Moscow announced a partial troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. The U.S. predictably dismissed this as a cynical ploy to divide the Western allies. And so it did. The French thought it might be an opening, and the conference took up a whole day working out a mutually acceptable statement on Afghanistan.

The Venice conference only underscored the disappearance of American imperialist hegemony. Before Carter's arrival, the Common Market (EEC) countries met on their own and issued a call for the Palestine Liberation Organization to be "associated" with future Near East "peace" talks—a direct challenge to current U.S. policy. On embargoing Iran, even Britain, Carter's most loyal European ally, was backpedaling furiously, limiting sanctions to contracts signed after last November's hostage seizure—thereby leaving most of the trade intact.

Meanwhile, the anti-Soviet Olympic boycott is at best a draw for Carter. France, Italy and the British Olympics Committee have announced they will go to the Moscow games, along with more than 85 other countries. And while Carter maintains Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is a precondition to further "disarmament" negotiations, other NATO leaders have been shuttling east to hold private talks with Brezhnev. French president Valéry Giscard

d'Estaing met the Soviet chief in Warsaw in May, and West German chancellor Helmut Schmidt took off to Moscow just after the Venice meetings.

Carter's pique was vented mainly at the West Germans, the most insistent in seeking to maintain an "island of détente." When Schmidt announced his Moscow visit to discuss European disarmament, the U.S. president fired off a "warning" letter, drafted by Dr. Strangelove Zbigniew Brzezinski. Schmidt replied obliquely, "Our Polish friend in Washington mistrusts us more than our Polish foes in Warsaw." And German social-democratic novelist Günther Grass remarked: "The irrational behavior of the ayatollah is alien and frightening. But compare this to U.S. foreign policy and you will find the comparison is not very favorable at all."

Flora Lewis, the *New York Times'* witting European correspondent, reports that 20 years ago President Kennedy "automatically picked up a special phone which rang on his desk each day and said, 'Yes, Chancellor Adenauer, we still love you and support West Germany.'" Today the shoe is on the other foot, and Jimmy Carter is worried about being "sold out" by Bonn. Perhaps he will now take up the slogan suggested by a perceptive *New York Times* pundit, "Ich bin kein Berliner."

Behind the increasing tension between Washington and its NATO allies lies the stark military fact that during the 1970s the USSR achieved effective

nuclear parity with the U.S. In the mid-1960s De Gaulle asked: will the United States risk Chicago for Bonn? Today all of Europe asks the question the other way around: will the U.S. risk Bonn for Chicago? Carter is feverishly pushing to recapture the nuclear first-strike superiority it had in the 1950s and early '60s. And the West European bourgeoisies, not to mention the working masses, fear that Carter/Brzezinski are just crazy enough to start a war with the Russians over a god-forsaken place like Afghanistan, while trying to save the U.S. by limiting the fighting to Central Europe.

In addition to the legitimate fear of becoming the battlefield for World War III, the European bourgeoisies are resistant to a new Cold War offensive for sound economic reasons of national (capitalist) interest. The EEC is far more dependent on trade with the Soviet Union than is the United States. In 1978 the Common Market exported over \$7 billion worth of goods to the USSR and imported over \$8 billion; the U.S., in comparison, exported only about \$2 billion and imported only \$500 million from the Soviets. West Germany received important raw materials from Russia: a quarter of its imported natural gas and 40 percent of its enriched uranium.

Ultra-reactionary anti-Communist ideologue Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn is appalled by European "softness": "The West simply does not want to believe that the time for sacrifices has arrived; it

continued on page 10

Free Abortion on Demand!

Supreme Court Condemns Poor Women

The Supreme Court decision June 30 cutting off Medicaid funding for abortions means more poor women will die, suffer permanent physical mutilation or sterilization, or be forced into bearing unwanted children to be raised in bitterness, misery and poverty. If you're poor and pregnant, that's *your* problem, the judges said—and anyhow you still have the same right to go out and buy an abortion as rich women have. After all, they argue, it's certainly not the *government's* fault that people are poor. Besides, the government is biased toward "protecting potential life" (this of course has nothing to do with Roman Catholic tenets or any other religious bias, they say).

Abortions have been legal in this country only since 1973. Since 1977, when the Hyde Amendment—a Congressional rider forbidding use of federal funds for abortions except in cases of rape, incest or danger to the woman's life—went into effect, poor women have been essentially barred

from obtaining legal, free, relatively safe abortions. The recent Supreme Court decision upholding the Hyde Amendment resulted from a challenge to its constitutionality raised by Federal District Court Judge John Dooling in January of this year, which temporarily restored Medicaid funding of abortions. But now Medicaid funding—including even for "medically necessary" abortions—will be cut off again starting in August.

Even the legality of private abortions is now being challenged, with Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan firmly in favor of a constitutional amendment banning *all* abortions except for cases in which the woman's life would be endangered. But the answer isn't to vote for the Democrats. Jimmy Carter just told the NAACP convention in Miami they'd better get blacks to vote for him because a Republican-appointed Supreme Court would be bad. What does he think *this* Court is? And it was Carter who said "there are many things in life that are

not fair" when he admitted that the Court's 1977 decision in favor of states' rights to cut off funds for abortions was unfair to poor women, but he supported it anyhow. No "lesser evil" he.

Unlike reformist groups such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), we have always fought for "Free Abortion on Demand!" as an elementary right of *all* women. Back in the early 1970s, the SWP's front group WONAAC ("Women's National Abortion Action Coalition") *refused* to fight for this demand, instead merely calling for "legalization" of abortion—the program of Nelson Rockefeller et al.—so as not to alienate the liberal bourgeoisie. Well, today they have what they fought for.

The fight for free, safe, legal abortions for all women must be linked to the fight for socialist revolution to overthrow capitalist property relations. The fight for women's liberation is essentially a fight to replace the repressive institution of the nuclear family which incarnates the capitalist ideology that women are

passive, child-bearing beasts of burden and nothing else. That's what the Supreme Court decision means. No matter that the kids the women are forced to bear (with Medicaid still paying for that, of course) will face lives of poverty and desperation.

The decadent capitalist system has for the poor and minority-group youth of today and tomorrow no jobs, no education, no future. It sanctimoniously proclaims the sanctity of "unborn life" while it shows these youth that their lives are worth very little. It will have no scruples about their "sacred" lives when it sends them off to die in imperialist wars, just as it has no compunction about legally murdering the social dregs who in desperation turn to crime. That's why right-to-lifers are supporters of the death penalty: it's the capitalist *state's* sacred prerogative to decide who shall live or die.

Communists say no! For free abortion on demand! Women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Letters

CIA's Qaddafi?

Paris, 20 June 1980

Dear comrades,

The article "Qaddafi's Murder Inc." in the *Workers Vanguard* of 16 May refers to "allegedly former" CIA personnel aiding Qaddafi's current terror campaign against Libyan exiles.

Relations between U.S. imperialism and the Libyan "Socialist Jamahiriya" are not exactly cordial now, so the exact nature of such CIA involvement is a little murky. But it is a fact that the U.S., Britain and Italy helped prop up Qaddafi's shaky military regime in his first several years of rule. Information on this can be obtained from the interesting book *The Hilton Assignment*, by Patrick Seale and Maureen McConville (London, 1973). They are, of course, the authors of the well-known book on Philby.

The book recounts (in a sober and credible fashion) the story of an abortive attempt by Umar al-Shalhi (the Shalhis were the power behind the throne under King Idris, overthrown by Qaddafi in 1969) to liberate monarchist prisoners from Tripoli's central prison (the "Hilton") and topple Qaddafi. Shalhi had engaged the services of British (ex-SAS) and French mercenaries to carry out this raid, but it was squelched by the combined forces of the British Special Intelligence Service, the Italian SID and probably the CIA.

The plotters had counted on the hostility of the Western powers to the "Islamic Socialist" regime. But the British prevented the use of the ex-SAS men and the Italians seized the patrol boat that was to carry the French mercenaries to Libya. The expulsion of the Italian community from Libya was outweighed by the

interests of the Christian Democratic-controlled state enterprises (such as the ENI oil corporation which signed a major agreement with Libya in 1972). The U.S., although it lost access to the Wheelus air force base, backed Qaddafi as a useful counter to Soviet influence in the Middle East, correctly sizing him up as a fanatical anti-communist. During his first year of rule the U.S. tipped him off about an anti-regime plot in the officer corps.

Seale and McConville argue that the Americans reversed the initially favorable British attitude to the coup attempt. Qaddafi's career would thus parallel that of his good friend Idi Amin (initially supported by Israel and the British)—an imperialist-backed dictator who later ran amok. Despite their feuding, from the Iranian mullahs of 1953 to Afghanistan today, rabid anti-communism (and the Yankee dollar) have never failed to unite the "soldiers of Islam" with the imperialist "infidels."

Bolshevik greetings,
Marc Richards

South Bronx Revisited

To the Editor:

The before and after photos of the South Bronx in *WV* No. 259 (27 June) are good for their graphic portrayal of what difference Jimmy Carter's promises can make in three years. He made Charlotte St. a symbol of urban despair that has been trumpeted over by every politician from New York City councilmen to the pope. Jimmy Carter stood on Charlotte Street in 1977 and promised dollars, housing, a new life and all the rest. What he delivered three years later is shown clearly in black and white: hopelessness and the ugly futility of believing in the capitalist American Dream.

I took the photos in 1977 and 1980 for *Workers Vanguard* because we wanted to demonstrate exactly what would happen: a Jimmy Carter promise has a future akin to a Bronx apartment—both wind up burnt out, torn down and thrown away with nary a thought to those who are left behind. Actually though, the pictures in the recent *WV* are of a corner near Vyse Avenue and Home Street, a near-by area not as bad as Charlotte Street. Charlotte Street itself is beyond arson: there are no buildings left to burn. In the early part of the century the intersection of Charlotte Street and Seabury Place was the center of a lively ethnic neighborhood, a neighborhood to move up to. Now the intersection is the center of acres of trash, building



WV Photo

remnants and bricks. The length of the street has virtually no abandoned buildings left, much less occupied ones.

In trying to take before and after pictures I had a very hard time locating the spots again. I wanted very much to revisit the scene of a photo (printed in *WV* No. 177, 14 October 1977) of two Model Cities employees who were hired (for a total of 30 days!) to rake up acres of rubble with garden rakes. After retracing my 1977 steps and finding nothing that resembled the scene, I asked some neighborhood residents for help. One fellow said it was Charlotte St. Another said no, it was further south. Another wondered, who could tell? "The buildings probably aren't there anymore and all empty lots look alike." I had thought it was Charlotte St. myself, but I couldn't match the photo since the skyline of Charlotte St. has simply disappeared. The only thing left that identifies where you are at are the street signs giving the name of each block of barren, lifeless rubble.

Comradely,
Charles Price

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No. 260

11 July 1980

Phone Militants Demand: Break with Carter!

For a National Phone Strike in 1980!

The leaflet reprinted below was distributed by the Militant Action Caucus at the national convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) in Los Angeles, June 16.

This is a critical year for our union. We are faced with both our contract fight and the national elections. [CWA International president] Glenn Watts is going to spend the next few days telling us—as he did in 1976—that electing Jimmy Carter and putting more Democrats in Congress is the answer to our problems. And, come August, Watts will do everything in his power to head off an effective national phone strike to prevent a “crisis” for his candidate right before the elections.

This is the policy that has crippled the CWA. Glenn Watts, and before him Joe Beirne, have never believed we could really fight Ma Bell. This is the reason why they have never organized a solid national strike which really shut down communications across the country. Instead, we have been told to rely on the Democrats, the so-called “friends of labor.” Millions of dollars have been spent and countless votes cast pursuing this no-win policy.

Could it be clearer than in 1980 that *this strategy is not working!* Jimmy Carter and an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress have brought us 18 percent inflation, mounting unemployment, an economy plummeting toward the worst recession in 40 years, and preparations for war. The Militant Action Caucus (MAC) doesn't think we need four more years of this to prove that the Democratic party is no less anti-labor than the Republicans.

Secret Service Apologizes— A Union Victory

At last year's convention in Detroit, MAC leader Jane Margolis, an elected delegate and executive board member from Local 9410 San Francisco, intended to speak following Carter to make these points. She was going to remind delegates of Carter's consistent anti-labor record: his use of the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley Act against the miners, his threat to invoke Taft-Hartley against us if we struck in 1977, his “wage guidelines” far below the rate of inflation, his blaming the workers for the country's economic crisis. It was exactly because she was a well-known critic of Carter—and of the CWA leadership's support to him—that 40 minutes before Carter arrived, she was physically dragged off the convention floor and locked up in a back room by Secret Service agents. Carter's friend Glenn Watts told delegates to “ignore the disruption” as Margolis was mugged.

The Secret Service knew Margolis was not a threat to the “life of the President,” but to his *political credibility*. And now they have been forced to admit it. In reaction to Margolis filing a lawsuit against the Secret Service for false arrest, assault and battery and violation of her constitutional rights, the government capitulated. Margolis has received an official letter of apology from the Secret Service and a \$3,500 settlement, which she is donating in whole to the CWA Defense Fund.

This is a victory for the entire union—for our right to meet and discuss our affairs without government intimidation and interference. It is also a victory for those in the labor movement—like Margolis and the MAC—who seek to convince our brothers and sisters that our current leadership is leading us



Phone workers contingent at April 19 San Francisco demonstration to stop the Nazis.

down a blind alley in its continued subservience to the Democratic party.

What Jane Margolis had to say about Jimmy Carter has become more clear with the passing of time. Carter has brought us the highest inflation rate since the end of WW II, while he tells workers to tighten their belts. Layoffs are devastating industries like auto, steel and rubber. Social programs are slashed while the defense budget mushrooms.

Carter tries to justify domestic hardships by diverting the anger of the American people to “foreign enemies.” The shah of Iran was a vicious dictator and his downfall was a good thing. Now the Iranian working people are saddled with the reactionary and religious obscurantist Khomeini regime. Khomeini may be nuttier than the shah, but a war with Iran would only serve the interests of the Big Oil companies. In fact, Carter would be happy to strike an anti-Soviet deal with Khomeini if he would only release the hostages. In Afghanistan, both Carter and Khomeini support the big land owners and religious fanatics who want to keep the country in the seventh century. Afghanistan explodes the myth of Carter's “human rights” crusade. The U.S. government is shipping guns to Islamic reactionaries no different than Khomeini who stand for mass illiteracy and poverty, the enslavement of women, the veil and selling little girls into forced marriages.

Carter/Reagan/Kennedy—Not a Dime's Worth of Difference

Carter and Reagan's program for America is basically the same: cut the budget, hold down wages, boost profits and re-arm. Kennedy's only real difference with Carter was that he preferred mandatory wage and price controls like we suffered under Nixon. Many labor leaders in the country—like Glenn Watts, also prefer mandatory controls so they don't have to take the heat for rotten contracts. But through either voluntary or mandatory “restraint,” the goal is cutting our wages so profits go up.

Carter's rush to right-wing pro-big business solutions has in fact created a climate making Reagan more credible. The *March CWA News* said, “Unlike past Republican Presidents he (Carter) has not sought to fight inflation by putting brakes on the economy and throwing millions of Americans out of work.” The leadership spoke too soon—this is exactly what Carter is doing! Reagan simply promises to do it more openly and efficiently.

There is something particularly hypocritical about the CWA leadership bemoaning Reagan's right-wing economic policies. The CWA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) has been a CIA front promoting company unionism throughout Latin America. The AIFLD has helped overthrow “radical” govern-

ments and install rightist dictatorships, as in Chile in 1973. In Chile, Milton Friedman, now Reagan's economic guru, served as the Chilean junta's chief economic advisor to impose starvation-level conditions on the Chilean workers following the 1973 coup against Allende.

Labor Must Stop KKK/Nazi Terror!

Carter's cold war drive has also fueled the growth of racist terror groups like the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis. California Klan leader Tom Metzger just won the Democratic primary in the country's most populous congressional district, getting over 32,000 votes. North Carolina Nazi Harold Covington almost won that state's Republic primary for attorney general with 56,000 votes, 43 percent of the total. The Nazi/Klan killers profit from the Carter-inspired anti-communist hysteria, they feed off economic decline, seeking to scapegoat blacks and other minorities. When these fascists murdered five labor organizers and leftists in Greensboro and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga in April, the KKK/Nazi vermin were demonstrating that they are emboldened by the racist backlash Carter endorsed in 1976, praising “ethnic purity” and telling American blacks that “life is unfair.”

The power of the labor movement can and must halt these fascist killers. The Nazis wanted to celebrate Hitler's birthday last April 19 in San Francisco and pro-Carter Democratic Mayor Dianne Feinstein initially promised them massive police protection. The Militant Action Caucus helped organize a 1,200-strong demonstration of unionists, blacks, Latinos, Jews and socialists. CWA Locals 9410 and 9415 sent official contingents which linked up with representatives of at least 22 different unions. Faced with this show of strength from the labor movement, the Nazis decided it would be safer to stay home.

For A National Strike in 1980

Fascist hit-and-run assaults are only the far right wing of attacks on American workers and minorities being

continued on page 11

Notes on People

Secret Service Settles Suit for False Arrest

It took nearly a year, but Jane Margolis, a militant San Francisco union leader, has forced the Secret Service to do something rare for that agency — give a public apology.

What's more, the Secret Service last week sent Miss Margolis a check for \$3,500 in settlement of her suit, in which she charged false arrest for an incident in which she was dragged from a union convention and held for 40 minutes. A spokesman for her said yesterday that she had dropped the suit and given the money to the Communications Workers of America, of which she is an executive committee member.

A Break for Bloodhounds

...ton Rouge, La., State Senator ... has proved he was dog's

The controversy goes back to last July 16 in Detroit, where President Carter addressed the union's convention. Miss Margolis planned to upbraid Mr. Carter for “his antilabor practices,” but said she was ejected from the convention, handcuffed and detained.

It was all a misunderstanding, said the Secret Service letter of apology. The agent involved, the letter said, believed that “he was assisting a Detroit police officer in making an arrest” and that “the Detroit police officer believed that the arrest was being made for violation of Federal law.”

Miss Margolis called the apology “a victory for free speech.”

Rip Dinner to Fame

... of fancy was achieved ... ide on the Big Dipper, ... ment Park in

The New York Times

—26 June 1980

Steel Conference Backs Anwar

CHICAGO—The fight to reinstate Keith Anwar took a major step forward this week as officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) announced that they would pursue his case to arbitration.

The victory capped a several month struggle by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee to mobilize support for the steel worker fired by Inland for respecting the picket lines of a fellow USWA local. When District 31 director Jim Balanoff announced at the June 27-28 District Conference that he was assigning the case to arbitration, it was 12 months from the day when last year's conference pledged "all available resources" to defend Keith Anwar and all union members victimized for refusing to cross picket lines.

But despite the enormous support generated in the district for this case, including resolutions passed by several locals and a rally held on Anwar's behalf by his Local 1010 last October—the union's leadership had maneuvered unsuccessfully to bury this case. Since last November the USWA International headed by Lloyd McBride and the Sadlowski/Balanoff leadership of District 31 have sat on Anwar's grievance, each claiming that the other has the responsibility to pursue it.

However in preparation for this year's upcoming District Conference, the Anwar Defense Committee mounted an impressive campaign demanding that the district leadership "immediately take this case to arbitration and do everything in their power to win Keith Anwar's job back." Resolutions to this effect passed in Local 65 in Southworks as well as in Local 1010. And a member of the Defense Committee at Local 1014 in Gary, Bob Lotz, was selected as delegate due to petitions signed by more than 100 workers asking that he be sent to the conference to raise the Anwar defense motion. Most important was the victory at Inland, Balanoff's home

local. It was when leading members and officials of that local made it clear that they were prepared to wage a major floor fight at the District Conference over the picket line issue that Balanoff backed down.

When a Local 1010-sponsored motion reasserting the right of union members to honor picket lines hit the floor of the District Conference, Balanoff announced publicly that he had appointed Joe Gyurko, chairman of the Grievance Committee, to handle the case at arbitration. This Local 1010 motion passed without opposition, as did a subsequent motion which directed the USWA International to ensure that the district's decision be implemented. A spokesman for the Anwar Defense Committee later informed *WV* that the International staff representative in charge of the case had scheduled the arbitration for September.

The fight to get Anwar's job back is far from over. The real victory will be when Keith walks back into work at Inland. But the decision to take the case to arbitration marks a significant milestone: not only did the USWA reaffirm its commitment to defend militants victimized for respecting picket lines, but in a union where it is commonplace for opposing factions to resolve their disputes by calling in the big business government, the Keith Anwar Defense Committee relied on the union ranks. Although both the District and International made a mockery of union democracy by defying the will of the membership for several months, the Anwar supporters refused to run to the bosses' courts to pressure McBride and Balanoff. Instead they relied on mobilizing USWA membership and demonstrated that it is possible to win victories through principled struggle.

In Chicago-Gary District 31, which has been controlled for the last several years by the reformist forces of Ed Sadlowski and Jim Balanoff, the mem-

bership has had its fill of phony "fight back" rhetoric. But despite all bluster from District 31 leaders about their commitment to the right to strike, they have done no more than McBride to defend the ranks. And never has it been so evident—over 20,000 steel workers in District 31 are on layoff; Wisconsin Steel is closed for good; Pullman Works in Gary and in Hammond are slated for closing, and U.S. Steel at Southworks is now shut "temporarily." And still the District 31 leaders do nothing.

The Anwar case has had a big impact in this district precisely because it was clearly not another instance of fake-militant posturing. Talk is cheap but Keith risked his job to defend the principle that is vital to militant trade unionism—"Picket lines mean don't cross!" And there are plenty of steel workers in this district who know that this is true—many walked the picket lines that helped build or establish the CIO and the USWA. Key to the recent success achieved by the Anwar defense campaign was the fact that a sizable layer of influential unionists—most of them members of local caucuses tied to either the District 31 or International tops—made it clear that they would not tolerate any further shilly-shallying by the leadership.

Keith Anwar told *WV*: "This victory is a tribute to the members who over the last 12 months have repeatedly come out in support of this case. But even if we win the arbitration, the Steelworkers union will have really won the right to honor picket lines only when we exercise that right." The Anwar campaign has indeed been an important test of USWA members who claim to support the right to strike. A number of individual militants and local officers were forthright in their defense of Anwar. The fake-left performed abominably. It was hardly surprising that the Socialist Workers Party, whose presidential candidate Andrew Pulley

scabbed on a railroad workers strike two years ago, simply ignored this battle. But even more outrageous was the Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD) which is backed by the reformist Communist Party.

While TUAD had several delegates to the District Conference, none endorsed the Anwar defense resolution. At its own conference a week before, TUAD went so far as to mobilize Lake County, Indiana sheriffs as well as its own goon squads to prevent Anwar Defense Committee supporters from distributing literature. This was not only a flagrant violation of workers democracy, but the leaflets torn by TUAD goons contained the same motions passed by the membership at Inland Steel and Southworks. But this attempt to ingratiate themselves with Balanoff came to nothing. Not only did Balanoff shift gears on the Anwar case, but he paid back the Stalinists for their groveling when at the District Conference his supporters combined with pro-International bureaucrats to ram through a resolution condemning "Soviet aggression" in Afghanistan!

Trade-union militants must understand what is at stake in the Anwar case. Both wings of the USWA bureaucracy and their left apologists preach reliance on the capitalist state and its politicians. McBride & Co. support reactionary protectionist legislation and import quotas, while Sadlowski/Balanoff call on the government to "reform" the union. Both wings undermine defense of picket lines—but it is on these battle lines of the class war that inflation, layoffs and other company attacks will be redressed. Only by breaking sharply with the reformist policies of the USWA bureaucrats and reviving the strike weapon and other militant tactics can a genuinely effective leadership of the Steelworkers be forged! ■

NYC Cops' Guns Out of Control

New York's got the "toughest handgun law in the country" now, thanks to Governor Hugh Carey and a yellow-journalist scare campaign by press lord Rupert Murdoch's *New York Post*. Of course it won't do a thing to protect John Q. Public—even the cops admit there are over two million illegal handguns in New York City alone, and more on the way. The only result of the new law, to go into effect in August, will

be to make it even harder for ordinary citizens to defend themselves against violent crime. There is, however, a section of the New York City population that could well benefit from some disarming.

"COP SLAIN" screamed the *Post*'s banner headline on June 19, while pushing another of its write-in campaigns to make the death penalty mandatory for killing a policeman.

What happened? Police officer Joseph Keegan, on duty in the early morning at the Columbus Circle subway station, saw two "potential troublemakers" (that is, two guys who weren't actually doing anything wrong) and decided to get tough. He drew his nightstick, chased and grabbed one of them, wrestled him up the stairs—where during the struggle he was shot to death with his own gun.

It seems obvious that Keegan would be alive today if (a) he hadn't wantonly attacked someone who wasn't bothering anybody, and (b) he hadn't been carrying a gun. Cops are of course well known for their propensity to plug each other in off-duty barroom brawls—cops are so frequently sociopathic, so relatively overpaid, so uncultured, therefore so homeless, that they often end up in bars drunk, aggressive and of course (as required by law!) armed. Moreover, cops seem to get shot amazingly often "in the line of duty" with their own revolvers. Thus some of the most immediate beneficiaries of taking the cops' guns away would be the police themselves. Then there are the rest of us.

Of course the cops don't see it that way—probably now they will be demanding machine guns. Meanwhile the young black man who got tangled up in Keegan's brutal "tough cop" mentality will probably spend the rest of his life in

some stinking prison, while the police are free to fire away at will. They are the biggest, most dangerous, trigger-happy gang of armed men in this city, who shoot innocent people all the time. Just remember the young woman shot dead on a subway platform by a cop chasing an "alleged turnstile-jumper" a year ago.

The killer cops ought to be disarmed because they're dangerous. Since 1967 an average of 359 people a year are shot dead in the streets by the police "on suspicion." Fully half the victims are black. The people ought to have access to guns, to the means to defend themselves against crime—including that perpetrated by the brutal enforcers of capitalist "law and order." Things might be a little chaotic at first, but, Mayor Koch and the *New York Times*, elementary justice would be served far better than it is now. ■

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Black Phone Worker Shot

KKK Terror Stalks Fontana

LOS ANGELES—On Tuesday, July 1 Dovard Howard, a 32-year-old black phone worker, was shot in the back as he was splicing cable while suspended in a lift bucket in Fontana, 50 miles east of L.A. The attack occurred just two hours before a Ku Klux Klan rally at Fontana City Hall. About noon Howard was gunned down and sent to Kaiser Permanente hospital where he was placed on the critical list. Two hours after this attempted killing the KKK donned its white hoods in the center of town, set up a recruiting stand and passed the can "for the Greensboro boys"—the KKK and Nazi murderers now on trial for shooting down five leftists in North Carolina last November. Here in this steel town of 21,000 just north of the 43rd Congressional District where California KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger is running as the Democratic Party nominee, no black person is safe from the murderous race haters. The ominous shooting of black worker Dovard Howard is an outrage which must be vigorously and widely protested.

Witnesses said that a man driving down a Fontana street where Howard was working stopped, shouted a racial slur at him, then leveled a shotgun blast at his back. "I feel it was Klan-related," said Howard's wife. "I think he was shot just because he was black. We've had trouble with the Klan before. A cross was burned on our front lawn just a few months ago" (*Los Angeles Herald Examiner*, 3 July). One hour after the shooting sheriff's deputies arrested a San Bernardino man, Larry West Deane, driving a car that matched the description given by witnesses. George Pepper, head of the local KKK chapter, told the *Herald Examiner* that Deane was not a member of his organization but "might be a member of another Klan chapter."

The Howards were one of four black families living in nearby Rialto in a white housing tract. Mrs. Howard was afraid to let her children play freely—and who wouldn't be after waking up to find a cross burning on their lawn! Sergeant Mickey Carns of the Fontana Police Department said after the shooting, "We don't have a racial problem in Fontana. We have a good ethnic mixture with no racial problems between any groups, and there hasn't been any kind of confrontation." Even while the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department was linking the KKK and Deane, labeling "no other motive other



Massive layoffs at Kaiser Steel, economic despair provide climate for fascist terror. Everywhere the ominous "KKK" initials threaten fire and death in this bleak steel town.

than that (racially motivated) possibility," Sgt. Leonard Johnson was insisting: "We had one incident three or four months ago, which wasn't really a cross-burning because there was no wooden cross, but someone had drawn a cross in dirt in front of a black family's house, and put flammable liquid inside and then lit it. This was a new black family that had just moved into the area. But we don't have any racial problem in this area."

—*Herald Examiner*, 3 July

No racial problem? According to the 6 July *Herald Examiner* the Klan frequently rallies at City Hall and KKK leader George Pepper "invites hundreds of Klansmen from throughout the state over for gatherings in his back yard at which crosses are burned while Klansmen with high-powered weapons flank the perimeter of his property." On March 1, 150-200 Klansmen assembled and displayed their weapons in a rally at Pepper's house. When city council members and the local police chief discussed measures to restrict armed rallies, the KKK brazenly invaded a city council meeting in protest. Fontana police detective Frank Scialeone talked of widespread fear of the Klan in Fontana and said informants have told the police of Klan burnings against Mexicans and blacks and other incidents.

In Fontana this kind of race-terror goes back a long way. The shooting of phone worker Dovard Howard is strikingly similar to the famous O'Day H. Short case three-and-a-half decades ago, when a black family who moved into a white Fontana neighborhood was burned to death by racist vigilantes. Short, a black Los Angeles resident, bought a house in Fontana in 1945 and stood his ground in the face of sheriff's warnings of vigilante violence if the family didn't move. Two weeks later Short's house was burned to the ground, his two children perishing in the fire, his wife hours later and Short himself dying of burns in the hospital six weeks later. While police and city officials covered up for the vigilantes and the FBI sat on its hands, the NAACP and other groups took up the case. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) issued a pamphlet "Vigilante Terror in Fontana" by Myra Tanner Weiss to publicize the case.

Weiss asked, "what would happen if Henry J. Kaiser, owner of the steel mill in Fontana were threatened" instead of a black family? Well, obviously the daily papers would publicize the threat, the deputy sheriffs involved would be removed from office, the landlord arrested as party to the criminal conspiracy, and the steel magnate furnished with guards at government expense. "But Short was not Kaiser. He didn't make millions out of the blood, agony and tears of the second world war. He was just an obscure member of the persecuted Negro minority." The SWP called for an independent labor investi-

gation to prevent a whitewash and for united defense organizations of minority groups and labor to prevent further vigilante violence. The social conditions which spawned the race-terror of the 1940s in Fontana have not changed one whit. The sprawling Kaiser Steel mill dominates the bleak town as it has since it was set up during World War II to take advantage of the "poor white" labor which flooded in during the depression. Even today Fontana has the aspect of rural Southern poverty: old cars sitting on blocks in

the back yards, dusty "lawns" in front of ramshackle bungalows, the main drag with its discount drugstores and Salvation Army store. And everywhere the ominous "KKK" initials threatening fire and death—on the walls of downtown shops, spray-painted onto benches at bus stops, on the sides of liquor stores, even on belt buckles sported by some whites in the plant parking lot. Black workers told reporters that after dark certain areas of Fontana are off limits to blacks—not "west of Citrus and south of Merrill." All the contradictions of life in Fontana can be seen at the Cherry Street liquor store outside the plant, where the words "KKK" are scribbled on one wall and the slogan "A Four Day Week" on the other side.

The man arrested for the shooting is a wild-haired, burly biker in cut-off denim jacket and chains. But he doesn't stand out in Fontana, birthplace of the Hell's Angels, where every other driveway sports a heavy-duty machine. The bikers here are not a couple of gangs, but a whole social layer of the white population. And while swastikas and iron crosses are standard regalia for these anti-social violence cults, in Fontana there is also a big overlap between the gangs and the Klan. Their threat is not just to Chicanos and blacks—in California bike gangs have been used on more than one occasion as strikebreakers by the bosses.

But things don't have to be this way. There is another power in town—the second biggest building after City Hall is the United Steelworkers hall. USWA Local 2869 vice president Rick Flores commented on the escalating Klan terror, saying, "There are many people in Fontana who used to belong to the Klan but kept quiet about it who are now openly saying they belong." Flores recalled yet another incident when a "Mexican-American family had a house in southwest Fontana. There was some superficial incident between neighborhood children, and all of a sudden their house was surrounded by Klansmen, not just from here, but from El Monte and Los Angeles, too. They stood

continued on page 10

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FREE TO CHOOSE



A Personal Statement
MILTON & ROSE
FRIEDMAN

"In this period of social crisis, of economic shocks, *inflation and deflation are two complementary instruments for throwing on to the people the cost of decaying capitalism.* Bourgeois parties organize formidable discussions on the question: is it better to cut the workers' throats with the saw of inflation or with the simple knife of deflation? Our struggle is directed with the same energy against the saw and against the knife."

—Leon Trotsky, "The Belgian Dispute and the De Man Plan," *Writings (1934-35)*

With 22 weeks on the bestseller list for a book on economics, "the dismal science," a monthly column in *Newsweek* and now his own television series, Milton Friedman, not so long ago dismissed as the Don Quixote of the "free market" system, is today by far the most widely read and listened-to economist in the United States. And the high priest of right-wing economics may well be on the verge of even greater influence. On the jacket of *Free to Choose* one admirer writes: "It is 'must reading' for everyone—from the President to the private citizen—who is concerned with the future of America." The admirer is Ronald Reagan.

True, this isn't the first time that Friedman has been associated with a Republican presidential candidate. He was Barry Goldwater's adviser back in 1964. But then everyone knew Goldwater would lose big. The GOP power

Tax Revolt Fever and the Bankruptcy of Key

BEHIND FRIEDMAN

brokers let Goldwater take his licks mainly to discredit what they considered the party's lunatic fringe, which included Friedman. This time around Reagan is leading the presidential race. And he intends to win largely by appealing to traditionally Democratic working-class voters fed up with Carter's horrendous economic mismanagement.

traditionally Democratic working-class voters fed up with Carter's horrendous economic mismanagement.

In particular Reagan is pushing a tax cut as his big campaign issue. Right-wing Republican Jack Kemp (a former quarterback for the Buffalo Bills), considered a possible running mate for Reagan, now calls the GOP "the party of working people" which can secure prosperity without inflation or unemployment. And for now this line is selling pretty well. A Louis Harris poll in May showed that 35 percent of blue-collar trade unionists believe Reagan could best manage the economy as against 30 percent for Carter. Harris noted that this is the first time that bread-and-butter economic issues favor the Republicans among the working class. The political bankruptcy of liberal economic policy could hardly be clearer.

Shortly after Friedman's *Free to Choose* came out, the latest *Wunderkind* among liberal economists, Lester Thurow, also published a popular exposition on current U.S. economic problems, *The Zero-Sum Society: Distribution and the Possibilities for Economic Change*. The difference in attitude between the two books is striking. Friedman promises a radical and relatively rapid solution for the country's obvious economic ills. The liberal Thurow promises nothing. *The Zero-Sum Society* is one long alibi for why Carter and the Democrats can't do much about the American economy.

The curious title indicates his basic premise that there will be little if any economic growth in the U.S. in the foreseeable future. Therefore, any major change in economic policy must reduce some group's income, which is supposedly impossible under present-day American democracy:

"Our economic problems are solvable. For most of our problems there are several solutions. But all these solutions have the characteristic that someone must suffer large economic losses. No one wants to volunteer for this role, and we have a political process that is incapable of forcing anyone to shoulder this burden. Everyone wants someone else to suffer the necessary economic losses, and as a consequence none of the possible solutions can be adopted."

With the liberals peddling this bleak historical pessimism, promising only cutbacks and takeaways, no wonder American workers aren't buying!

Capitalist spokesmen have nothing to offer except some combination of inflation, unemployment, wage cuts and social service cuts. But there is an alternative to the capitalist rules-of-the-game. The expropriation of private industry and finance run for profit and the establishment of *socialist economic planning* under a workers government would produce material abundance while progressively shortening the time people now spend working for a living.

There's No Such Thing as a Free Lunch

Friedman advocates abolishing Social Security, unemployment insurance, welfare, public housing and the minimum wage. He stands for "right to work" laws and in the past came out for prosecuting labor unions under "restraint of trade" legislation. This program would seem unlikely to endear Friedman to the mass of American people, even among college-degree white-collar types. He himself admits that Social Security, for example, "is a sacred cow that no politician can question—as Barry Goldwater discovered in 1964."

How then does one account for the present "populist" appeal and increasing influence in ruling circles of right-wing economic nostrums? The answer lies on two levels. One is the long-term effect on a capitalist economy of government deficit spending. The second is the particular unevenness of the U.S. recovery from the 1974-75 depression and its disastrous impact on the working class.

The basic Keynesian economic program is that government deficit spending will increase *total* demand for output and so move the economy toward full employment. The key underlying assumption is that an increase in government expenditure without increased taxes will either have no effect or a positive effect on private capitalist investment as well as consumption. This assumption is radically false save in the very short run.

A capitalist government finances its budget deficits in one of two ways or a combination thereof. It can simply print

the money (the usual case). In the U.S. today this takes the specific form of the Treasury selling bonds to the Federal Reserve (central bank) which then credits this sum in the government's checking account. This way of financing a deficit is inflationary because it increases total money demand for goods and services but not their supply. (The only condition in which deficit spending via the printing press might not be

FREE TO CHOOSE



Hundreds of poor black youth apply for a handout.

inflationary is during the moment of a deep depression when there are large stocks of unsold inventories. But this period is to be measured in months, not in years.) Inflation in turn reduces the value of the money-capital which businesses have set aside for investment in new plant and equipment. These investment funds are worth less—they buy less. Thus, the government expenditure is offset to a greater or lesser degree by reduced real capital formation.

Governments can also cover a budget deficit by borrowing in the private financial market. Here government bonds directly compete for loanable funds with new corporate bond issues, would-be home builders, etc. Again increased government expenditure is offset by reduced private expenditure, especially capital investment. A recent empirical study by Richard Cebula of Emory University concluded that "in both the United States and Canada private investment is apparently crowded out as a result of central government budget deficits" (*Kyklos*, Vol. 31, 1978). Thus, the effect over time of continuous government deficits is to lower the level of investment in new plant and equipment, retarding the country's productive capacity and labor productivity.

Milton Friedman's strength as an economist of *the capitalist class* is his

MILTON FRIEDMAN!

Your brain-trusting for junta killers means...

STARVATION
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BOOK-BURNINGS
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DRIVE FRIEDMAN
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SYL.

Spartacus Youth League exposed Friedman's role as architect of mass starvation in Chile.

nesian Liberalism

NIA

understanding that there is no such thing as a free lunch:

"The true cost of government to the public is not measured by explicit taxes but by government spending. If government spends \$500 billion, and takes in through taxes \$440 billion . . . , who pays the difference? Not Santa Claus, but the U.S. citizen. The deficit must be financed by creating money or by borrowing from the public. If it's financed by printing money, that imposes the hidden tax of inflation in addition to the explicit tax. If it's financed by borrowing, then the government gets those resources instead of the private sector."

—"The Limitations of Tax Limitation," *Policy Review*, Summer 1978

While Friedman speaks of "the public" in the abstract, his actual program is to transfer income from old people no longer working, from nurses in public hospitals, from social workers—and of course from welfare recipients—over to the profit accounts of the Fortune 500 corporations.

The Rage for Fiscal Austerity

Of course, Friedman has been singing the same song for the past 30 years. His writings used to have about as much respectability as Ayn Rand, the prophet of capitalist individualism "red in tooth and claw." Why are important sectors of the ruling class now

listening? The severe global downturn of 1974-75, by far the worst in the post-war era, had a profound effect on the economic thinking and acting of the world's bourgeoisies. They concluded they could no longer afford the going overhead cost of "the welfare state." More than four years ago we called attention to the dominant tendency toward fiscal austerity:

"[Gerald] Ford likes to point out that prominent liberal Democrats, such as Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, agree with him on the need to reverse the growth of government spending and the federal debt. Internationally as well, a right-wing offensive against liberal economic policy is taking place. . . .

"On a global scale, the capitalist class is driven to seek a solution to falling profitability in a massive transfer of resources from the state sector to private capital."

—"Capitalist Politicians Can't Solve Unemployment," *WV* No. 98, 27 February 1976

The slow recovery from the 1974-75 slump was marked by fiscal austerity in most major capitalist countries—Christian Democratic Italy, Giscard's France, Fälldin's Sweden, Callaghan/Thatcher's Britain and, not least, in Jimmy Carter's United States. Carter is no less committed to cutting back non-military government spending than is Reagan—at most there is a difference in degree. Since 1977 he has sharply

reduced such government programs as aid to the cities and public health and is proud of it. In fact, the frustrated liberal John Kenneth Galbraith, flinging mud at the now-fashionable Friedman, dubs the high priest of anti-Keynesianism the "spiritual parent" of Carter's economic policies. Certainly no greater insult can be given any professional economist.

Still it is not Friedman, but unreconstructed New Deal liberals like Galbraith who now seem hopelessly out of touch with current American economic realities. Even a number of serious Keynesian economists recognize that the basic problem of American capitalism today is stagnant industrial investment, not deficient total demand. For example, Lawrence Klein, who was a young spear carrier in "The Keynesian Revolution" of the 1930s, now sounds like a *Wall Street Journal* editorial:

"We have lived high on the hog and failed to modernize our plant and equipment. We must go from being a high-consumption economy to being a high-saving economy if we are to reindustrialize and improve our standard of living."

—*Business Week*, 30 June

Friedman is the most consistent, most radical exponent of moving away from a "high-consumption economy." It's obvious why his program of cutting back government social services and welfare measures in order to increase potential profits should appeal to capitalists—for many it always has. But why should right-wing economics get any kind of favorable hearing from working people?

Carter's Raw Deal for the Workers

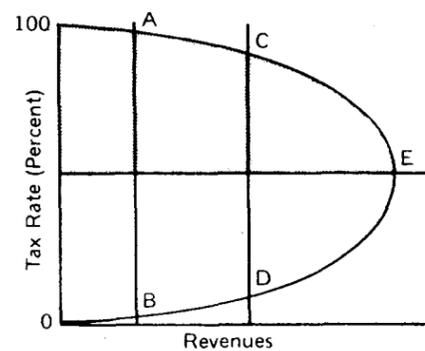
The answer lies in the uneven nature of the economic expansion under Carter. Employment recovered relatively rapidly from the 1974-75 downturn and by 1979 the labor force was 15 percent greater than in 1973. By contrast, last year investment in new plant was only 5 percent higher than the 1973 peak. This extreme unevenness had a significant effect on the underlying structure of the American economy. The expansion of the means of production failed to keep pace with the growing labor force. Between 1948 and 1973 capital stock (structures and equipment) per person employed increased at an average annual rate of 2.5 percent. Between 1975 and 1978 it actually declined by almost one percent a year (Edward F. Denison, *Accounting for Slower Economic Growth* [1979]).

What accounted for the "investment-less" expansion following the 1974-75 crisis? There is, of course, the classic factor that nearly full investment of the potential available surplus value will produce such a flood of cheap commodities it will wipe out the rate of profit. But this is a more or less constant and universal factor limiting production under capitalism. We must look instead at the particular factors which so retarded investment in the past half decade. The sharp 1974-75 downturn cut off a feverish capitalist spending boom heavily financed through borrowing. Many firms found themselves with half-finished construction projects, large debts and the bottom having dropped out of their markets. So in 1976-77 they used their profits mainly to repay their bankers and bondholders, while they expanded output by what seemed the least costly, least risky method—adding labor to existing facilities.

Another factor which retarded investment in the past period is usually discounted in left-wing circles—the fourfold increase in world oil prices in 1974. Typically acting as lawyers for Third World nationalism, most left-wing writers on economics (e.g., Ernest Mandel, the Communist Party's Victor Perlo, the SWP's Dick Roberts) dismiss Western ruling-class complaints about

world oil and energy prices as mere chauvinist ideology and propaganda. In reality the explosion in energy prices engineered by the Seven Sisters/OPEC cartel has seriously affected American industry. Energy and machinery are complementary: the more machinery per worker, the more energy consumption per worker. So capitalists are economizing on now-expensive energy by using more labor-intensive, more primitive methods of production.

Whatever the various causes for the stagnant investment the effect on labor productivity has been predictably catastrophic. Between 1965 and 1973 manufacturing output per man-hour in the U.S. increased 2.4 percent a year. In the 1973-78 period this rate fell by 40 percent to 1.5 percent a year (*Economic Report of the President*, 1980). Internationally the deterioration was even more



The laughable Laffer curve.

marked. Between 1973 and 1979 gross national product per worker in Japan and West Germany increased more than 30 times that of the U.S. By late 1977 the expansion had absorbed the supply of skilled and semi-skilled labor and in general white workers were close to fully employed. The resulting production bottlenecks and sluggish rate of labor productivity caused unit labor costs to shoot up. Capitalists tried to offset this by raising their prices. Since one firm's product is another firm's input this sparked an inflationary spiral which by early this year reached Latin American banana-republic levels.

The Carter administration's response to the inflation was the standard liberal policy since John F. Kennedy—wage-price guidelines. For liberals and social democrats, wage-price guidelines or statutory controls are more than a temporary counter to inflation. Rather, they are viewed as the solution to a fundamental contradiction of capitalism. Over a century ago Marx pointed out that a boom which produces near full employment enables workers to bid up wages at the expense of profits. The capitalists then respond by cutting back investment thus restoring the reserve army of the unemployed as a drag on wages.

Today liberal and social-democratic politicians and their trade-union bureaucrat friends offer or impose on the working class the following deal: we, the government, promise to maintain full employment through fiscal and monetary policies; in turn, you, organized labor, will forgo taking advantage of the tight labor market and instead accept the wage rates we determine. In the past few years American workers have experienced this liberal/reformist "social contract" and have learned the hard way it is not a New Deal or a Fair Deal but a very raw deal for them. In October 1978 when Carter's wage-price guidelines were instituted, consumer prices were rising at a goodly clip of 10 percent a year. This February inflation went out of sight at an 18 percent annual rate. As a result, the real take-home pay of the average industrial worker fell 7 percent under Carter's guidelines (*Monthly Labor Review*, January 1979 and April 1980). Teddy Kennedy, who has been pushing a compulsory wage-price freeze, promised to be even more of a disaster. No wonder Reagan, Friedman & Co. could look to many workers like the lesser evil.

Tax Revolt and White Backlash

The conservative right has been able to exploit working-class reaction against liberal Democratic economics in large part because of the connection between inflation and taxes. Under the existing progressive income tax system, wage increases needed just to keep up with inflation push people into higher brackets. Many workers whose real wages have fallen in the past few years now pay a higher percentage of their gross income in taxes. Between 1966 and 1979 real take-home pay of the average worker fell slightly. In this same period total taxes collected have gone from 28 to 33 percent of gross national product (*Economic Report of the President*, 1980). So when Friedman goes after the inflation/income tax rip-off, he is bound to get a sympathetic hearing from millions of working people.

With the liberal program of wage-price guidelines/controls exposed as a cruel joke, many workers believed the only thing the government could do to help them stand the killing inflation was to cut their taxes—the more, the better. Reagan and his friends identified themselves foursquare with the "tax revolt" ushered in a couple years ago by California's Prop 13. Carter stubbornly opposed any tax cut as inflationary until a few weeks ago. Kennedy, well practiced in the art of political suicide, still opposes a tax cut.

In a sense the "tax revolt" is the white backlash at two or three removes. For the past few years until the present crisis,

continued on page 8

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New York Times

f job openings.

FREE TO CHOOSE?

How Pinochet's men carried out the Friedmanite economic model.



Gamma

Friedmania...

(continued from page 7)

white workers haven't had much trouble finding or keeping a job. Not so for blacks. Since 1974 black unemployment has never fallen below 10 percent and for the past few years has been almost three times that of white adult men. Many white workers, temporarily secure about a job, regarded "welfare state" liberalism as something only for black women with ten children. If welfare or CETA or food stamps had to be slashed in order to cut their own taxes, that was just too bad. Reporters who observe the similarity between Reagan's blue-collar appeal and George Wallace's are on to something, although the former California governor is less flagrant in his racism. More precisely, he disguises his racist program through attacks on "big government" liberalism.

But now that the depression has hit the picture looks very different. White workers, thrown out of work for a long time, will once more look upon unemployment insurance, government job retraining, even welfare and food stamps as not just for blacks, but as programs for themselves. At the same time reactionaries of every stripe will try to scapegoat blacks for economic misery. The white backlash is not however the result of Reagan the Republican, but of decades of betrayal of class struggle by the labor bureaucrats and liberal black leaders who are tied to the Democratic Party. And it is only through united class struggle that racist demagoguery and attacks can be fought and reversed.

The majority of workers still view the Democrats as the party more concerned with unemployment and matters of economic security. Whether this can keep Carter in the White House remains to be seen. Of course, to call Carter an opportunist is like calling Jack the Ripper a naughty boy. He has just come out with his own tax cut and a \$2 billion emergency public works program (peanuts). Still it's going to be hard for Carter to pass himself off as a new New Deal liberal, a true successor to Franklin D. At the same time if Reagan, Friedman & Co. believe the majority of American workers will cheer as they dismantle this country's minimal economic security programs, they are in for the shock of their lives.

Laffer Curves and Other Fantasies

There is a tendency to lump all right-wing political types together. However, grouped around Reagan's camp are conservative economic ideologues who, whatever their common homilies about the "free market," have policy differences with one another greater than their differences with Carter or even Kennedy. In November 1974 a young economist, Arthur Laffer, sent Treasury Secretary William Simon a brief memorandum, an event which for a small group of right-wing cultists ranks with Jehovah's granting of the Ten Commandments. This memorandum concluded:

"In order to increase total employment, policy measures must have the effect of both increasing firms' demands for productive factors and increasing the productive factors' desire to be employed. Taxes of all sorts must be reduced."

—cited in Jude Wanniski, *The Way the World Works* (1978)

Laffer maintained that if personal taxes were cut, more people would go to work or work longer and harder. Cut taxes enough, he argued, and there would be such a vast outpouring of labor effort that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue. He depicted this wondrous theory in a now-famous curve which purports to show that the same total tax revenue can be had with a low tax rate as with a higher one. This is called "supply-side" economics as distinct from the traditional Keynesian and monetarist

focus on total demand for output.

What this Alice-in-Wonderland version of hoary "trickle down" economic theories amounts to is revealed in the lamentations of Jude Wanniski, Laffer's publicity agent, about the effect of high taxes on the downtrodden captain of industry:

"...if you have the most talented and creative and energetic individual in your whole economy, somebody who's a J.P. Morgan, who is discouraged by the high taxes on his own income and therefore spends more of his time playing polo and sailing his yacht, and less of his time



SYL-initiated demonstration, University of Chicago 1975.

Young Spartacus

trying to figure out more efficient ways of financing enterprise...."

From the plight of the new J.P. Morgan on his yacht, Wanniski turns to the travails of a South Side Chicago black entrepreneur who wants to open a fried chicken place:

"He wants to hire a kid and the government says, No, you have to pay him \$3.65 minimum wage. The Board of Health says he has to have three toilets within 12 feet of the fried chicken grill. He has to go out and hire lawyers, he has to go out and hire accountants. It's a big deal just to open up a little fried chicken restaurant."

—"The Battle for Reagan's Mind," *Village Voice*, 7 April 1980

And this is supposed to be a serious analysis of the deterioration of the American economy!

No one who knows anything about the real world takes Laffer/Wanniski seriously. Many of the most effective intellectual and political attacks on the Laffer curve have come from conservative economists and especially financiers, who have a vested interest in preserving the value of money. A few years ago right-wing congressman Jack Kemp introduced a bill, inspired by the Laffer curve, to cut income taxes by one-third while leaving government expenditure as is. The American haute bourgeoisie was not amused. At Congressional hearings on the Kemp-Roth bill in 1978 venerable conservative and former Federal Reserve head Arthur Burns shot down Laffer in a few sentences:

"At the present time, we have virtually full employment in our country, as far as skilled labor is concerned. We have little surplus of skilled, experienced labor.... I therefore think that if we now had a massive tax reduction that was not accompanied by a large reduction in government spending,.... the rate of inflation would be magnified."

—U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Ways and Means, *Tax Reduction—Economists' Comments on HR. 8333 and S. 1860* (1978)

Citibank economist Lief Olson pointed out that the Laffer/Kemp proposal, touted as the latest word in right-wing fiscal radicalism, would be equivalent to Keynesian deficit spending with a vengeance. Among the pillars of the financial aristocracy who opposed Kemp-Roth as inflationary were the head of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, the senior vice presidents of Bankers Trust, Manufacturers Hanover Trust and Kidder Peabody investment bankers, the head of Citibank's Economic Policy Committee, the managing director of First Boston Corp. and the president of the U.S. Council of the

International Chamber of Commerce. Anyone who thinks Congress will enact a tax bill against the will of those boys is living in a fool's paradise.

When Reagan first started running for president, he talked about a tax cut similar to Kemp-Roth. But now that it looks like he might actually administer the most powerful capitalist state in the world, the American ruling class is reining him in. All of his advisers who have real weight on Wall Street—Arthur Burns; bond dealer and former treasury secretary William Simon; stock

market analyst Alan Greenspan—dismiss Laffer and Wanniski as "wild men" and insist that any tax cuts must be matched by cuts in spending. A few months ago *Business Week* (7 April) observed that Reagan is "under increasing pressure to transform his populist economic rhetoric into a more traditional GOP economic platform." And he has done so, since he knows who his masters are. If Reagan actually tried to cut taxes by 30 percent without touching government expenditure, Wall Street would have him assassinated.

The Laffer curve is nonsense. Why then has it gotten so much publicity in the past few years? Because it promises what people want—a big tax cut—without the cost (politically hard to extract) of a corresponding reduction in government programs. Friedman remarks acerbically that there is growing popular support only for one-half of his fiscal program: "The widespread enthusiasm for reducing government taxes and other impositions is not matched by a comparable enthusiasm for eliminating government programs...." Unlike the mushheads Laffer/Wanniski, Friedman does not claim his policies will benefit everyone and admits that his "cure for inflation" will have "painful side effects." To see just what he means, we must look at Pinochet's Chile, the living laboratory of Friedmanite economics.

Friedmanite Chile: Free to Starve

On television Friedman appears to be a mild-mannered ivory tower professorial type. He cites Jefferson and the Founding Fathers a lot and comes off as

an idealist. Don't be fooled. Milton Friedman is a vicious international political operator, responsible for the murder, torture, starvation and suffering inflicted on workers, peasants and intellectuals.

Chile is mentioned just once in *Free to Choose*, as an example of a country where the government was overthrown supposedly because it couldn't control inflation. (The inflation actually accelerated in the year or so following the 1973 military coup.) Someone unfamiliar with Friedman's political record might assume he deplored the overthrow of parliamentary democracy in Chile by a military dictatorship though perhaps regarded it as inevitable. Nothing could be further from the truth. Friedman and his "Chicago boys" were up to their ears in Pinochet's coup and especially its bloody aftermath. To understand Friedman and Chile one must realize that the "Chicago school" is not just another current of academic economics like the neo-Keynesian Cambridge or econometric MIT schools. It is more like a cult. The "Chicago boys" look upon Friedman as a veritable prophet sent into the capitalist world to purge it of its "socialistic" sins. The "Chicago school" is an international right-wing political cabal whose members braintrust plotting generals and infiltrate government bureaucracies.

Under Pinochet's junta the Chilean "Chicago boys"—Jorge Cauas, Sergio de Castro, Pablo Barahona and others—took over the reins of economic policy. UPI (15 June) reports that in a recent interview, former economics minister Barahona now admits that "a year before the 1973 coup, several of the Chicago boys got together" to "formulate a plan to rebuild the economy" under military rule (our emphasis). What he neglected to mention was that this 300-page Friedmanite blueprint given to the generals in preparation for the coup was *financed by the CIA* (see "Braintruster of Chilean 'Shock Treatment' Gets Imperialist Prize," *Young Spartacus* No. 49, December 1976). In March 1975 Friedman himself, accompanied by his University of Chicago cohort Arnold Harberger, went to Chile for high-level talks to outline a "shock treatment" for the inflation-ridden economy. According to the *Santiago Ercilla* (2 April 1975), Friedman counseled Pinochet to harden his heart: "Don't worry about your international image anymore, Mr. President. Just make sure that the international corporations find it profitable here, and nothing more." And just how did Friedman intend to make Chile profitable for international corporations?

"The 'Chicago Boys,' as the junta's economic advisers like to call themselves, slashed public spending, restricted bank credit and slowed the printing of money.

"The only public expenditure that has escaped the scissors has been the military budget...."

—*New York Times*, 21 September 1975

Sound familiar?

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New York Times reporter Jonathan Kandell was struck by how Friedman had become practically a cult figure in Pinochet's Chile. In a 21 March 1976 article entitled, "Chile, Lab Test for a Theorist," he wrote:

"It is not often that a leading economist with strong views is given a chance to test specific prescriptions for a very sick economy...."

"Milton Friedman, the University of Chicago professor, has achieved precisely that status in Chile. Hardly a week passes without a reference to him or his theories in newspapers and magazines. Most members of the junta's economic team have either studied under Mr. Friedman or consider themselves 'Chicago Boys,' disciples of the professor's conservative, monetarist principles.

"Mr. Friedman's views on the Chilean economy have also been largely supported by the United States State Department, foreign businessmen and bankers...."

Kandell goes on to survey the Chilean economy a year after the made-in-Chicago "shock treatment":

"Last year, the gross national product declined by more than 12 percent.... Unemployment, which is climbing above 16 percent, has reached its most dramatic level in three decades. Malnutrition is widespread in the urban slums."

The conservative London *Economist* (2 February 1980), which supported the right-wing coup against Allende, admits

that the depression engineered by the "Chicago boys" in 1975-76 "hit Chile as hard as the slump in the 1930s hit Britain." And *Business Week* (12 January 1976), hardly an organ of liberal protest, recognized that only a brutal military dictatorship could impose the Friedmanite economic model:

"Because a drastic cut in government outlays often triggers a sharp jump in unemployment, the almost inevitable result is labor unrest. Countries that try the cold-turkey approach to inflation therefore tend, like Brazil and Chile, to be regimes that use police power to contain the social fallout of these economic policies...."

"...Chile's public works programs reach only about one out of seven of those officially recorded as unemployed. The plight of the poor is made even more difficult by acts of intimidation against private charitable efforts...."

We communists have always pointed out that when capitalist spokesmen talk about freedom, they mean freedom to exploit the workers. Milton Friedman, who talks more loudly about capitalism and freedom than anyone else, is just a bigger liar than anyone else. For the think-tankers of American imperialism the name of the game is concocting theories to justify mass starvation in the name of "freedom" and the balanced budget. Any whiz kid of Pentagon social "science" can draw a probability curve to show how massive bombing in

Vietnam leads to "urbanization" and thus "economic development." But Milton Friedman has achieved a true pinnacle of power: the "Chicago boys" in Chile have just completed their purge of every non-Friedmanite economist from the country's universities ([London] *Times*, 28 May). And while Friedman's *Capitalism and Freedom* and *Free to Choose* are undoubtedly compulsory reading in the universities and ministries of Pinochet's Chile, the works of Marx, Lenin and even Friedman's liberal *bête noire* Galbraith are burned. Perhaps this latter act of book burning is a personal favor for this "apostle of freedom."

Friedman Will Pay

In the fall of 1975 the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at the University of Chicago launched a campaign to drive the architects of mass starvation in Chile, Friedman and Harberger, off campus through protest and exposure. Perhaps because the SYL-led campaign hounded this seventh member of the Chilean junta for years, Friedman is well aware that militant Marxism exists on the nation's campuses. The architect of hunger for millions in Chile, whose program required the murder of 30,000 workers and leftists, complains about "these crazy kids, these kooks, with the madness on their faces." The worldwide

operator whose followers burn the books and witchhunt the advocates of any other economic theories has the gall to invoke "academic freedom." And he is backed up with a Nobel Prize—the imperialist seal of approval also awarded to Vietnam mass murderer Henry Kissinger—for demonstrating "the complexity of stabilization policy"!

In an interesting passage in *Free to Choose*, he observes that the manifest economic bankruptcy of social democracy in Britain and liberalism in the U.S. has produced an upsurge not only in the "free market" right but also in the Marxian left.

"They have no solutions to offer to present-day evils except more of the same. They can no longer arouse enthusiasm among the young who now find the ideas of Adam Smith or Karl Marx far more exciting than Fabian socialism or New Deal liberalism."

But the mortal enemies of this apostle of capitalism without freedom will not be limited to student-youth drawn to Marxist ideas, but will be centered on the American class brothers of the workers butchered and starved in Friedmanite Chile.

None of the bourgeois economists—neither Keynesians nor monetarists nor "supply-siders"—can overcome the irrationality of capitalism's boom-bust cycle. The only solution which can lead to real freedom from want is proletarian socialist revolution. ■

Black Radical Lawyer Threatened with Disbarment

Stop the Witchhunt Against Conrad Lynn!

The noted black radical civil rights lawyer Conrad Lynn is under attack from the legal establishment once again. Lynn's devotion to the defense of the oppressed is chronicled in his autobiography, *There is a Fountain* (reviewed in *WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980). This dedication of his legal talent to civil rights and radical causes spanning more than four decades has brought him into continuous conflict with the corrupt, racist and class-biased criminal "justice" system. Now he is threatened with disbarment, along with the prominent black Republican lawyer Cora Walker, for telling the truth about the capitalist courts on a popular television program, *Like It Is*.

Lynn and Walker appeared on a segment of this program devoted to "Judicial Corruption" on June 3 of last year. Soon thereafter they were under investigation by the New York State Commission of Judicial Conduct for violation of "Canon 8" of the "Code of Professional Responsibility." In a recent interview with *Workers Vanguard*, Lynn pointed out that this "canon" decrees:

"...that a lawyer should not say anything to bring the judiciary into disrepute. That is so funny after Watergate, that we shouldn't say anything to bring the judiciary into disrepute. Lawyers don't have the civil rights of other people, at least that is what they are saying."

Neither Lynn nor Walker were ever informed of the specific statements that they might have made which the Commission believed to be in violation of "Canon 8." However, Lynn surmises from the nature of the Commission's inquiry that they took exception to at least two statements he made. Given the corruption and attendant expense of buying "justice" Lynn stated on *Like It Is* that, "a poor person, especially in the Criminal Court, cannot expect justice except by luck." In his *WV* interview Lynn insisted, "that's going to be very difficult for them to do anything about because that is my personal opinion." But the Commission is really after Lynn for his statement on the program that to become a New York Supreme Court



Conrad Lynn

WV Photo

judge it takes a "pledge to the [Democratic Party] club" of one year's salary. He elaborated, "...when the judge is put on the bench, then he has to continue to pay until this whole year's salary which is the cost of the job is paid off. Many times I've been a little embarrassed at noontime going into a little hamburger joint and there's a Supreme Court judge sitting. Well of course the poor man is under so much pressure to pay back all these obligations to get his job that he can't really eat in a first class restaurant."

Lynn later told *Workers Vanguard*: "Now these judges know this was said on the air. None of these judges have condemned me. Why? Because after they get the job they resent the fact that they had to pay all this money. So they're not going to criticize me for saying that." Lynn pointed out he made the very same charge in *There is a Fountain*:

"Actually they are after my book. Because the book says judges are bought. Why didn't somebody sue me? They had one year to sue. Any judge could sue for group libel and destroy me forever. Not one judge sued me. Because they knew I could prove it. They [the Commission] asked me to bring the book in, this is important, the

time I came before this group. They would not attack the book because they knew that even Republicans, the *New York Times*, everybody would come to my defense on that. They can't attack a book so they try to get at it obliquely. "Now this happened once before. In 1967 I published that book against the draft, how to stay out of the army. Robert Morgenthau, who is presently District Attorney of New York County, was then United States attorney. After the book came out he summoned me before a federal grand jury for making a wrong notarization, a misdemeanor, on a bankruptcy paper for some black woman who had a little business out in Brooklyn. I took my little book with me. This federal grand jury of 23 people sitting there in 1967 in the middle of the Vietnam War with so many things to do, looked at this guy in amazement that he wanted to consider indicting me for that. I gave the foreman of the jury the book. I said I think this will indicate why. And they passed it around and then they threw out the charges. And that Morgenthau has hated my guts ever since."

As if prosecution for speaking the truth were not enough, the New York Bar Disciplinary Committee is also trying to frame up Lynn for "professional misconduct" based on the complaint of a couple that he cheated them out of an illusory \$6 million settlement with the FBI. Lynn had to obtain a statement from the attorney general of North Carolina (!) testifying to the spuriousness of this claim. While this couple resided in North Carolina the attorney general investigated the fantasized settlement for tax purposes and concluded this couple was "confused, generally unaware of their affairs and had imagined this asserted judgement recovery" (letter of Rufus L. Edmisten, attorney general, state of North Carolina, to Mrs. Marion S. Namm of the Departmental Disciplinary Committee for the First Judicial Department, New York, 26 June 1980). The fact that Conrad Lynn, the defense attorney for the black youth in the notorious "Kissing Case" and for Robert F. Williams, must appeal to the attorney general of North Carolina against the vendettas of New York's "liberal" legal establishment, speaks volumes about "justice" in America today, whether for

the black defendant or the black lawyer who attempts to use the legal channels to attempt to get a little social justice.

Recently, William Kunstler and Morty Stavis of the Center for Constitutional Rights have offered to defend Lynn from the charges arising from his *Like It Is* interview. WABC, the station which carried the program, has stepped in to try to mediate a deal whereby Lynn disclaims his "objectionable" remarks in the interview and disciplinary proceedings are dropped by the judicial establishment. But Lynn refuses to disclaim his indictment of the racist, capitalist crime-infested criminal "justice" system, or to be silenced. We applaud his courageous stand and demand that all charges and disciplinary proceedings be dropped immediately. ■

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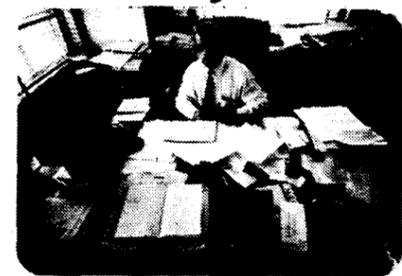
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There is a Fountain
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Conrad Lynn

Detroit City Workers...

(continued from page 12)

increase in 1977 putting them far behind inflation. This was accompanied by draconian cuts in the city workforce through suspensions and firings. So city workers are justifiably bitter at the black mayor they helped put into office who calls on them to sacrifice to "enhance [Detroit's] reputation by putting up our best face for the Republicans."

AFSCME chief negotiator Lloyd Simpson hotly denies Young's charge that the union is "holding the Republican convention hostage." What would be so wrong about that? City workers have no reason to give a damn for the arch-racist, anti-labor Republicans, or for preserving the image of Democratic mayor Coleman Young. Striking workers should say, "If you want your convention, give us a living wage."

The city workers are eager to wage a militant strike, but the weak-kneed AFSCME bureaucrats have refused to go all out and shut down all city services. ATU bus drivers and Teamster garbage truck drivers are honoring picket lines, but their contracts expired the same day as AFSCME workers—they should be out on strike with the rest. And through a treacherous agreement between the city and the Building Trades Council, Carpenters Local 95 and electricians from IBEW Locals 17 and 58 are crossing picket lines at Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena to continue preparations for the convention. This scabbing must stop! Pull out the craft unions and the city administration will be up against the wall!

Meanwhile the City Council building,

while surrounded by pickets, remains in operation while city officials like phony "Marxist" councilman Ken Cockrel scab with impunity. Strikers were eager to show a *WV* reporter where Cockrel, who likes to pose as the auto workers' champion, went in to work. When Cockrel was confronted as he crossed the picket line, the normally fast-talking councilman had nothing to say except to stick up his middle finger and to grab his crotch. City workers: remember this when Mayor Young's "left" challenger makes his bid for the mayor's office—Cockrel was a simple strikebreaker and a scab.

At Thursday's press conference, Young tried to line up the Detroit population against the strike, threatening, "We are in the midst of a renaissance which is being hailed across the nation... and we are not about to mortgage Detroit's future for the benefit of a few." Neither workers nor city residents, many of whom are unemployed auto workers whose SUB fund has just dried up, are buying this anti-union claptrap. They've got the money—they bailed out a loser like Chrysler; they poured millions into revamping downtown and they gave hefty raises at City Hall. It's simply a question of who in town gets it.

Coleman Young likes to flaunt his past as the quintessential progressive—he was a street-wise organizer for the UAW, he marched in the civil rights movement, he even shook hands with Angela Davis. But Jimmy Carter's premier black Democrat is no friend of labor and blacks. As Detroit sinks into a bottomless pit, this errand boy for Henry Ford builds the Ren Cen for the bankers and the executives, and nobody else. As one sanitation worker remarked, "There has never been a renaissance for city workers." Break with the twin parties of capitalism! For a workers party to

Victory to the City Workers Strike!

Leaflet published by the Rouge Militant Caucus members of UAW Local 600, 7 July 1980:

The UAW must not allow the 9,000 striking Detroit city workers to be sacrificed to ensure a smooth launching for Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign. City workers shouldn't give a penny for Reagan, a Nixon-Republican, a staunch racist and the man who calls unemployment insurance a "prepaid vacation for free-loaders."

Young calls for city workers "to share the misery of laid-off auto workers." He threatened AFSCME that if they went on strike "they would live to regret it," and demanded they accept a so-called Chrysler solution. This means mortgaging Detroit to the banks, while slashing city services and laying off hundreds of workers. To hell with this! We need a united fight of labor to save our jobs and living standards, not more brothers and sisters on the unemployment lines. AFSCME

must call out the rest of the city workers unions who are working without a contract. This especially means the building trades who are continuing to work at Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena to prepare the Republican Convention. They are critical to force the city government to start bargaining seriously.

As auto workers, we have some power in this town. Young knows it. He has asked Doug Fraser to intervene and tell AFSCME to go back to work! This would be a crime. Instead, every UAW local in Detroit should show its active solidarity with the striking city workers by passing the following motion:

MOTION: That this local supports the victory of the city workers strike, and we call on and organize employed and laid-off UAW members to join the city workers' picket lines. This motion is to be distributed to all Detroit-area UAW locals, to city workers unions and the Detroit media.

mobilize the masses in militant class struggle toward a workers government!

City Workers: Unite Behind a Program to Win!

No contract, No work! Stop all scabbing! All city workers out! Young's Republican convention be damned—no work at Cobo or Joe Louis Arena!

For a big wage boost with a full COLA! End all forced overtime! Restore all job cuts, 30 hours work for 40 hours pay and massive hiring!

For a militant strike! Mass picketing—no one goes into struck shops! Link up with the rest of labor—auto workers, employed and unemployed should help man the picket lines.

City workers need a fighting leadership. No more sellouts to please the Democrats or Republicans! Break with the bosses' parties and build a workers party!

For elected strike committees and regular mass meetings to run the negotiations to ensure that the strike wins! ■

Fontana...

(continued from page 5)

outside the house, and showed exposed weapons..." (*Herald Examiner*, 3 July).

In Fontana the potential power of the steel workers has been stymied by the threat of ever-more massive layoffs and possible shutdown of the plant. And with the inaction of the unions, the only force that could turn things around, you get despair. At one time Kaiser Steel employed up to 7,700 workers at the mill. But since the fall of 1979, 1,700 workers have been indefinitely laid off, while the company has been systematically attacking key union gains such as seniority and job classifications and running amok with health and safety violations. Meanwhile, Kaiser has been trying to sell the Fontana plant to anyone who will take it, already having been turned down by the Japanese steel maker Nippon Kokoan and LTV Corp. of Dallas. Kaiser spokesman Kathleen Hyland denies plans to liquidate Fontana, but David Healy, an analyst with Drexel Burnham Lambert, Inc., in New York, said LTV "probably concluded that there's no way that any steel company could make that plant run profitably" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 July).

After Fontana workers' direct experience with the fascist killers, USWA Local 2869 vice president Flores and executive board member Ray King eagerly endorsed the Rally to Stop the Nazis in San Francisco on April 19. But what made that demonstration a success was the actual mobilization of union strength. To get at the roots of the problems of this one-industry, one-plant town, what is needed is strike action to stop the mass layoffs. With the Fontana USWA's well-integrated membership (50 percent white, 35 percent Chicano, 15 percent black) it can and must take the lead defending labor and minorities in the San Bernardino area. The CWA, too, has a special responsibility as its members are being shot down off the telephone polls while performing their jobs. Phone workers

were the largest single contingent at the April 19 rally, and southern California phone workers must demand their union take action to mobilize the rest of labor to put a stop to this night-riding terror in broad daylight.

The doctors say that Dovard Howard will probably be permanently paralyzed from the waist down. Moreover he and his wife and children remain exposed to continuing danger. The organization of labor/Chicano/black defense guards against racist attack is an urgent task of the unions. Only a few years ago, UAW workers at the International Harvester plant in Melrose Park, Illinois mounted round-the-clock union defense guards at the house of a black family, effectively stopping racist vigilantes. In this context the upcoming USWA convention in Los Angeles can be an opportunity to mobilize the union against the fascist threat directed not only at blacks and Chicanos, but against the labor movement—in Gary, Indiana and the Ohio steel valley as much as in the bleak desert of Fontana. The unions must launch demonstrations of labor's strength to protest the fascist outrage.

Twenty-five years ago the then-revolutionary SWP wrote that racist vigilantes in Fontana could only be dealt with by the independent political mobilization of labor and minorities against the capitalist parties, that "[California State Attorney General] Kenny can no more challenge the vigilantes than Roosevelt or Truman could offend the 'Solid Democratic South.'" Today while reformists such as the Communist Party call on city councils to "ban the Klan" and the driveling SWP advocates the "right" to "free speech" for the fascist killers, the Spartacist League has taken the lead in fighting for blacks and labor to use their power to stop the racists. The unions must break with the Democratic Party of KKK grand dragon Tom Metzger and Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter to undertake an integrated union/minority defense against the fascists and build a workers party! ■

Carter...

(continued from page 1)

is simply unprepared for sacrifices" (*Foreign Affairs*, Spring 1980). The tsar-loving apologist for the Black Hundreds and the born-again Baptist with his finger on the nuclear button are sounding the same theme. But fortunately for mankind, European workers are not prepared to sacrifice for an anti-Soviet crusade. Millions remember that it was the supreme sacrifice of 20 million Soviet dead which broke the back of Hitler's armies.

An important element in the European bourgeois calculation is the higher level of working-class organization and consciousness (compared to the U.S.), and a more vivid recollection of the nightmarish devastation of World War II. (The ruling class also remembers the spectre of revolution it faced at war's end.) For Americans war has always happened "over there," and the U.S. bourgeoisie considers its working class to be basically patriotic. But although anti-Soviet sentiment runs more deeply on this side of the Atlantic, American workers may also resist Carter's price tag: billions for the war machine amid mass unemployment, falling real wages and huge cutbacks in social services.

It is testimony to the betrayals by the Stalinist bureaucracy that the Soviet Union still exists in virtual isolation in a hostile capitalist world 63 years after the October Revolution. Ironically, the addition of China to the Stalinist sphere has not helped the Soviet position because of the treachery of the Chinese bureaucrats, who have lined up diplomatically and militarily with the U.S. The Kremlin's response to increased American military pressure has predictably been a renewed "peace offensive," relying on the pro-détente sentiments of the European imperialists to prevent deployment of new U.S. missiles.

This sort of "protection" will be about

as effective as the Stalin-Hitler pact. When it comes down to a crunch with Moscow in the present period, Schmidt is right in saying that the U.S. "can count on the damned Germans." On the other hand, the Kremlin leaders say they will do what is necessary to maintain parity with the Western arms build-up. Soviet intervention to forestall a CIA-backed takeover in neighboring Afghanistan is encouraging, indicating that liberal rot has not yet terminally undermined the Russian bureaucracy's ability to perceive a threat to the conquests of the October Revolution. And even Western press reports indicate that the Soviet people are prepared to undergo the material sacrifices needed to forestall imperialist aggressive designs. But the Soviet leaders remain wedded to the "disarmament" frauds embodied in the SALT I and II agreements.

Whatever armaments program the Kremlin adopts for now, the fundamental Stalinist program of "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism is the greatest internal blow to the defense of the USSR. Only when the European and American workers take the power from their historically bankrupt ruling classes will the Soviet Union be secure and the future of mankind assured. The Soviet bureaucracy, precariously trying to balance between the pressures of imperialism and the working class, is incapable of waging a struggle for worldwide socialist revolution. It is up to the Trotskyists, the Bolsheviks of today, to rally the world proletariat to break forever the power of the imperialist warmongers.

Oppose the imperialist arms drive! No American missiles in Europe! Down with NATO! For the revolutionary reunification of Germany, proletarian powerhouse of Europe! Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack—For workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Detroit Klan March...

(continued from page 12)

heard over the roaring, chanting crowd. The left groups crowded into the upper gallery chanted, "Death to the Klan." Russell backed away from the microphone, the chairman adjourned the meeting, and cops whisked the Nazis out the side door. Pandemonium ensued: there would be no orderly "debate" with the fascists. Good.

Supporters of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) rushed to the front and grabbed the microphone amidst the uproar, screaming, "The city council are front men for the Nazis." The cops charged the CWP. One CWP supporter held up his arms to indicate he would "go quietly," but the cops seized him from behind, hauling him to the floor by his hair, and savagely beat him with half a dozen blows before dragging him out. Another was beaten and dragged headlong over the TV camera equipment.

Ten minutes later the meeting was called to order again, this time without the Nazis and Klan. When the crowd of 600 acted in unison drowning out the Klan they were successful. But the confrontations by the frenzied Maoists resulted only in cop attacks and more arrests. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of macho-Maoism waving its red flags in the gallery was not to be out-frenzied by the CWP. They awaited their chance for futile confrontation with the cops and got it when Councilman Jack Kelley ridiculed their May Day mayhem and then red-baited them, equating the RCP with the Klan. An RCP'er took this bait and stood up in the back yelling, "Shut up, you dog!" Kelley raised his fist, shouting, "You come up here, you pussy! I'll stick that flag up your ass!" The RCP'er didn't have time to move as cops descended on him and after a scuffle with other RCP'ers dragged him out by his feet.

As the room began to settle down again, a woman RCP supporter grabbed the front mike and yelled wildly, "These dogs have no right to speak!" only to be hauled off by three women undercover cops. Another RCP'er then burst into the aisle but realized too late he had nothing to say. Shouting, "We have something to say, you can't do this," he too was dragged out by the cops. The president of the city council thereupon threatened the entire upper gallery with arrest. At this a Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member cheered with gleeful support. In contrast with the sniveling SWP reformists, who advocate "free speech" for the fascists, in confrontations between Maoist screwball adventurists and marauding cops Trotskysts defend the left against the attacks of the capitalist state. Drop the charges against the leftists!

By the time it was all over, eleven of the leftist protesters were arrested. Such antics may deliver a few richly deserved kicks to the Nazis, but more often they end up as fruitless, adventurist confrontations with the police which leave the fascists untouched and emboldened by the impotence of the small group actions. What is necessary is to mobilize the power of labor and the black masses against the racist terrorists.

Cockrel Backs Down

Many people at the hearing agreed with a proposal made by councilman Ken Cockrel three weeks earlier. Cockrel had said, "Let them march and let's get a group of neighborhood people over there and kick their ass" (*Detroit Free Press*, 6 June). Cockrel's statement echoed the hatred of the population for the Nazis. And it tapped an instinctive sense that "debating" a permit didn't mean a damn. The important thing was that the Nazis had to be stopped.

One black woman speaker from the East Side, Dorothy Speidel, articulated

"Send the Cops Out of Town!"

We reprint below remarks of United Auto Workers militant Frank Hicks at the Detroit city council meeting June 26. Hicks was one of the initiators of the Kennedy Square anti-Klan rally in Detroit last November 10 and one of the organizers of the campaign which drove two KKK-hooded foremen out of Ford's River Rouge plant. Significantly, of the 80 speakers at the city council meeting only Hicks spoke to the need to mobilize the power of the labor movement and blacks to smash the fascists.

My name is Frank Hicks. I'm representing the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600. In the midst of depression and mass layoffs the Klan and Nazis want to demonstrate. We saw how these fascists demonstrated in Greensboro, North Carolina. The Nazis and Klan are here to organize for their solution—their "final solution." We can not allow this to happen.

Councilman Cockrel made a proposal for a mass counterdemonstration against the Nazis on August 23rd in Kennedy Square to "kick their ass." (Applause) From press reports Councilman Cockrel seems to be backing away from this position—but it is the right one. It's the only thing they understand. (Applause) I know that auto workers from every plant in this city would

answer such a call.

Is there really a need for a meeting like this to discuss whether or not to allow a racist outrage to be committed in Detroit? Lynchings, cross-burnings and murder are not debatable questions, but acts of terror against blacks, unionists, Jews, socialists and others. This is not a question of free speech. To defend the Klan and Nazis' so-called rights is the same as asking their intended victims to do nothing while the noose is placed around our necks. (Applause)

This government is not neutral. The City Council or any other agency of this government has no business taking up the question of a permit. The power to regulate or censor political activity will be used by this Council and this government against labor and minorities. Just last November the Council refused a permit to myself and other brothers and sisters who organized and built the anti-Klan rally in Kennedy Square.

This meeting will not stop the Klan and the Nazis even if it denies them a permit. In fact, it has invited them here and given them a platform to spew their racist filth. Greensboro, Skokie, Miami, the Nazi headquarters in Southwest Detroit—the power of the cops and the courts has been used time and time again to defend the Nazis, to defend the Klan, and



Frank Hicks

WV Photo

against labor and minorities as we have seen in this meeting today. If this City Council wants to do something constructive on August 23rd, they can send the Detroit police force out of town. (Applause)

This past April representatives and members of 22 unions in San Francisco joined together and stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday. This is the only power we can rely on to sweep the Klan and Nazi scum from the streets of Detroit—the power of our own labor and black organizations. (Applause)

the sentiment of thousands of Detroiters and received near-continuous applause when she said, "Don't turn them down. Let them march down Mack Avenue on the Lower East Side and it will save you a costly court battle. It will help us wipe out the slimy cowards and trash. They will be greeted with the keys to the city on the Lower East Side with lye and fire and stone."

By the time of the city council meeting, however, Cockrel was backpeddling desperately. His mayoral ambitions got squeezed between his pose as a black "militant" alternative to Coleman Young and his abiding need for liberal approval and respectability. He chose the latter and became a black "militant" for "free speech for fascists." Coming under fire from the city administration and the bourgeois press, Cockrel changed his proposal, advocating a demonstration on a different day from the one picked by the Nazis/KKK.

At the meeting, Cockrel called for the opinions of the city departments—all except the law department recommended denial of the permit. Even the police department announced, "Police cannot guarantee protection for this type of activity." The cop assaults on the leftists at the meeting illustrated who the police protect. It is not the pleading of reformists that the government "ban the Klan" but the threat of countermobilizations against the Nazis that has put the cops on the defensive.

The ACLU, on the other hand, defended the Nazis' "right" to a permit amidst a chorus of boos. If the SWP didn't openly join the civil libertarian liberals at the mike, it was only out of cowardice. Certainly the city council, the cops and any other agency of the government have no right to determine permits for political events, a legal device historically used against the left. But while the council opines on the "constitutional rights" of the fascists to demonstrate, it does not hesitate to ban anti-Klan demonstrations as it unsuccessfully attempted to do in the aftermath of the Greensboro killings last November when 500 anti-Klan protesters gathered in Kennedy Square.

For Labor/Black Mobilization

The city council meeting was

dominated by a circus of adventurism and reformism aimed at pressuring the capitalist government to "ban the Klan" by denying them a permit. Against this program of defeat, another strategy was presented, however: that of mass labor/black mobilizations to smash the Nazis and the Klan. Frank Hicks, a member of the Rouge Militant Caucus of UAW Local 600, spoke for Cockrel's original position for a mass counterdemonstration to "kick their ass," much to the embarrassment of the "Marxist" councilman. Hicks denounced the city council's attempt to arbitrate on political activities, drawing tumultuous applause when he said: "If this city council wants to do something constructive on August 23, they can send the Detroit police force out of town." Even the cops liked that idea. But Cockrel interrupted the next speaker to comment, "I mean these statements in the same sense that Jimmy Carter meant when he said he would kick Teddy Kennedy's ass."

It will not be the Cockrels or the Maoist nuts who stop the Klan, but the power of the largely black Detroit labor movement. Nowhere is it more graphic than in this city where one out of every five workers is now jobless, where black youth unemployment is expected to reach 65 percent by the end of the summer, where the black mayor is threatening to call out the National Guard to bust a city workers strike in honor of the Reagan convention, where there is growing racist vigilantism and cop terror.

But no matter how the city council votes on the permit, one thing is clear: the Nazis and Klan must not ride in the Motor City! For a mass mobilization led by the unions and black organizations!

The seething frustration of Detroit's masses, largely black, as they see their lives being shattered by mass layoffs and 20 percent inflation must be channeled into militant class struggle. For a shorter workweek with no loss in wages—30 for 40! Break with the Democratic and Republican twin parties ties of capitalism! Oust the Frasers and other labor bureaucrats—for a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Phone...

(continued from page 3)

orchestrated by the Democratic Party. The pro-Carter policies of our CWA leaders act as an obstacle to the very purpose of our union: to defend its members. Brother Watts will do anything to keep from embarrassing Carter in an election year. He knows Carter would use Taft-Hartley against a successful national phone strike. The MAC is fighting for a class-struggle program—the only strategy that can win. Our union has the power to shut communications down tight. Local CWA strikes in the past year—in Cleveland, Portland, Texas, New York—has shown the willingness and desire of the ranks to fight. And we have plenty to fight for: a shorter work week to insure job security against automation and downgrades, a 100 percent cost of living escalator clause, an end to absence control, fully paid sick leave, no forced overtime or productivity quotas, no sub-contracting and an end to reform-school-like company work rules. Democratic and Republican twin make a dramatic break from its past policies. Ma Bell is going to kick us in the teeth until our union stands up and fights. These vital needs will only be met by a strong, unified and militant strike against Ma Bell. Class struggle politics means breaking with the twin parties of the banks and big business to form our own workers political party. A workers party would fight for a workers government that would end the economic chaos by expropriating all major industry and institute a planned economy run for social need, not profit. This is the only way to end inflation, unemployment, fascist terror and war.

For a Solid National Strike in August. For Militant Mass Picket Lines—No One Crosses. Union Action to Smash KKK/Nazi Terror. For International Working-Class Solidarity. Down with Carter's Anti-Soviet War Drive. Not a Dime, Not a Vote for the Wage-Freezing, Strike-Breaking Democrats.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

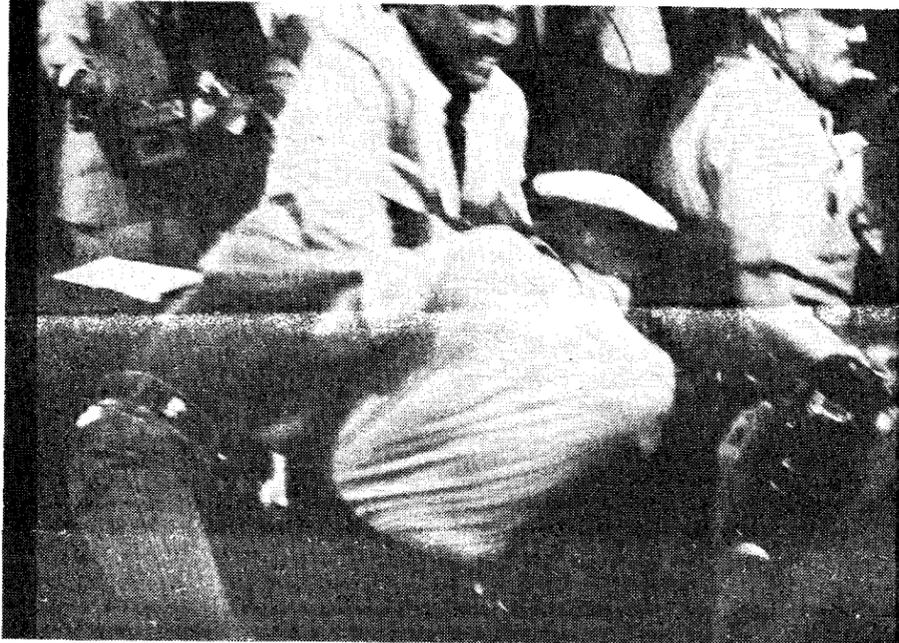
Cops Pummel Leftists at City Council Uproar

Stop Klan March in Detroit!

DETROIT—When the city council called its public meeting for June 26 to “discuss” giving a permit to the Klan and Nazis to organize race-terror marches on the streets of Detroit, they thought they were testing the waters of public opinion. What they got was a raging flood of angry protest as 600 people jammed the city council auditorium—blacks, concentration camp survivors, unemployed, an array of liberal and religious organizations, every left group in town—all saying that the fascists were not going to take over Kennedy Square on August 23 with their burning crosses and swastikas. When the speakers list was taken, 80 people signed up.

The “town meeting” was itself an insult and a provocation. A wave of revulsion swept the crowd as the first two speakers were announced: Bill Russell, the Klan and Nazi leader petitioning for the permit for his two groups, followed by his sidekick, Seth Kliphoth. The Nazis were right there in the auditorium. The “city fathers” had set up a “discussion” directly between these terrorists and their intended victims over the fascists’ “right” to have a permit.

The permit is a phony issue. The fascists don’t depend on permits to launch campaigns of race-terror. Even as the meeting was proceeding down-



Coleman Young's cops assault anti-Klan demonstrators at city council, June 26. WV Photo

town, racist thugs on Sanger Street on Detroit’s West Side were spray-painting the front of a black couple’s house with the words “niggers suck” and signed it in spray-paint “KKK.” This incident was part of a months-long campaign to drive the couple from their home. The next day a mob of 30 racists pelted rocks and bottles at the house while the couple was

huddled inside. Maybe the city council would like to “discuss” giving the Klan a permit to drive black people from their homes. For that is the business of the Klan and Nazis—violent intimidation and, in the case of Greensboro, wide-open murder.

The fascists don’t need a permit to get police protection. They already have it:

remember how two years ago Detroit cops lined up in front of Russell’s Nazi storefront to protect it from the enraged community. The real problem for the city council is that the outrage felt by Detroit’s residents might make it impossible to protect Russell and his little band of racist creeps. The streets of this black and labor city are not safe for fascism.

Even before the meeting began Kliphoth, wearing a black leather jacket and white gloves, slipped his cop protection and went outside the auditorium to taunt some 30 leftists from various groups who were picketing. The picketers, including a few supporters from Progressive Labor, gave the Klan thug a “debate” he understands, knocking him to the ground and bloodying him.

As the meeting opened at 10:30 a.m., about 30 uniformed cops were stationed just outside the door of the auditorium, and dozens of undercover cops scattered strategically through the crowd to protect the Klan and Nazis. When Bill Russell came down the far aisle, a couple of people slipped past the cops throwing an ineffectual kick at the tinpot führer. The cops immediately hauled out three anti-Klan demonstrators and arrested them. Russell made it to the microphone, but he couldn’t be

continued on page 11

Republican Convention Be Damned!

Victory to Detroit City Workers Strike!

DETROIT, July 8—In defiance of Mayor Coleman Young’s threat that they would “live to regret it,” 9,000 city workers of AFSCME Council 25 went on strike July 1 on the eve of the Republican convention. Unlike the other 55 city unions which continued to work without a contract, AFSCME insisted on “no contract, no work” and shut down garbage collection, public transportation and clerical work in response to Young’s wage freeze.

The drive to subdue the city unions takes place against the obscene spectacle of Young and the auto barons rolling out the plush red carpet for the Republicans. Along the newly paved streets which allow delegates to go from hotel to convention center without experiencing the squalor of this depression-ridden city are freshly painted trees and billboards proclaiming, “Welcome Republicans! Detroit Loves a Party!” But the party spirit does not reach far when fully 20 percent of the population is on unemployment, thousands of auto workers are

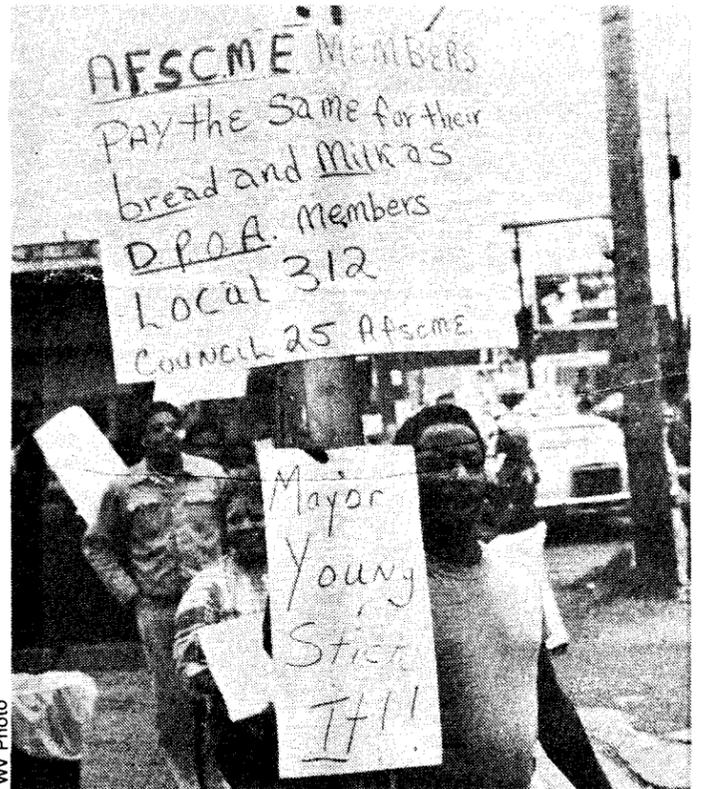
laid off, and soup lines and a tent city of evicted families are sprouting up in suburban Wixom.

Young threatened to pull out all the stops to crush the city strike before his “party” begins. The cops are now escorting supervisors driving sanitation trucks to pick up garbage in certain downtown areas, and court injunctions were leveled against two chemists’ associations which refused to cross picket lines at the sewage plants. At a TV news conference last Thursday, Young answered a reporter’s question with the ultimate threat:

Reporter: “If the situation gets worse, for instance, if the garbage piles up and the chemical engineers don’t go back and we start threatening health, would you ask [Governor] William Milliken to send in the National Guard to pick up the garbage and start running the sewer department?”

Young: “I’ll do whatever we have to in order to guarantee that this city stays together, but I am confident that in face of court orders, these chemists and anybody else will pop to.”

On the line: Coleman Young “sticks it” to the workers, and so will the cops of the DPOA.



But if Coleman Young calls in the troops to black Detroit, which retains vivid memories of the summer of 1967 when the National Guard transformed the ghetto into an occupied territory—and this time to protect racist Reagan and the Republicans, no less—it would be an extreme provocation. With every other big city mayor worrying about “another Miami,” this one is contemplating a step which could blow Detroit sky-high. A strikebreaking attack of this magnitude would necessitate a massive response from Detroit’s labor move-

ment, particularly the powerful UAW and black groups in solidarity with city workers. Later Young continued his saber-rattling, saying on TV, “Hell will freeze over before the city gives in to the union demands.”

City workers are striking over cost-of-living allowances and an end to mandatory overtime. In six years of the Young administration, city workers have been ground into the dirt. Through the treachery of their union leaderships, they were saddled with a measly 4 percent pay

continued on page 10